## Discussion of Poole-Placek-Verbrugge on Owner-Occupied Housing in the CPI

Robert J. Gordon Northwestern University and NBER Federal Economic Statistics Advisory Committee (FESAC) December 9, 2005 Wide-Ranging Contribution on an Important Topic

- 30% of CPI is based on rental-equivalence indexes
- Upside-down pyramid
  - 23% of CPI is owner-occupied housing based on indexes that cover 7% of renter-occupied housing
- The paper rightly asks, is it proper to proxy the biggest component of the CPI by something that might be behaving very differently?



- Authors (pp. 40-42) coin a new acronym "GvG" for my recent paper, the first time I've ever been called a palindrome
- I'll reciprocate by calling them PPV
- You called in the right guy
  - Home-owner since 1968. Turned a \$15K down payment into multi-millions of home equity, negative user cost (didn't every professor my age do that, nothing special?)
  - Landlord since 1996. I understand why rents are persistent, change with tenant turnover, and how utilities and maintenance work (6 tenants in 9 yrs)

# Other Background (for the young folks)

- Chapter on deflation of structures in my 1967 PhD thesis, published in REStat in 1968
- Hired by the BEA (then OBE) to do a private consultant report on structures deflation in 1969
- Wrote an article in the *Public Interest* in 1981 about the absurd CPI treatment of housing
- Wrote the GvG paper (with Todd van Goethem) on a century of quality change and CPI bias in rental housing

This Paper has Four Sections, Only Partly Connected

- Conceptual Comparison of User Cost (UC) with Rental Equivalence (RE)
- Methodological Hitory of Shelter Cost in CPI
- Current Sample Design and Methods in the CPI Housing Survey
- Survey of "homeowner cost inflation measures"
- 3 follows from 2, but 1 and 4 are separate

A quick reaction to each section, then more extended comments

- #1, user cost (UC) vs. rental equiv (RE)
- I agree completely that UC is too volatile, too hard to measure, and if implemented would make the CPI useless
  - Hard to measure? Doesn't even mention AMT!
- I recommend the second paper sent to us as background by Verbrugge
  - He can't find any connection between RE and UC
  - He concludes this makes RE hopeless as a proxy for UC, while I would conclude the opposite (that UC is hopeless as a proxy for RE)

Sections #2 and #3 on the history of methology Section #2 doesn't come down hard enough on the pre-1983 CPI treatment of housing and its absurdities. Makes it sound like an implementation of UC. Section #3 is full of too many details without explaining to us which if any of these details actually matter in creating a divergence between growth rates of the ultimate index

# Section #4, the survey of other work

- I'm involved here the GvG paper is dismissed as showing no bias in the CPI AFTER 1995!
- The whole point of our paper was to investigate CPI bias for the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century!
- One of our basic conclusions is that the CPI improved greatly after the 1980s
- Nary a comment about this broader context in PPV
- P. S. you left us out of your reference list

## Big Issues in UC vs. RE

- UC: low interest rates have a negative correlation with housing price inflation
- This makes UC highly volatile esp. recently
- UC inappropriate for BEA price deflators because they are driven by capital gains, but you can't calculate UC without a capital gains term
  - But capital gains are excluded from all components of GDP and the deflators!
  - Is my cost of living negative when my stock portfolio doubles? Where's the logical case for including housing CG but not stock market CG??

This creates a prima facie case that UC measures can't be used in official price deflators

## Thank you for Critique of OFHEO Repeated Sales Indexes

This was new to me Who knew that 80% of OFHEO repeated sale index was based on refinancing! Any accusation against appraisers for "over-appraising" is a level effect, not a growth rate effect The big weakness of repeated sales indexes is quality change (my house!)

# A technical issue about maintenance and depreciaton

- That "gamma" term in the user cost formula "collects the rates of depreciation, maintenance, and property taxes."
- What?
  - Maintenance can't be *added* to depreciation.
  - Maintenance is the *offset* to deprecation
- Maintenance is the neglected aunt in the closet it is the offset to the aging bias in the CPI hedonic regressions
- Subjective: saving the 1889 relic with 10000 sf
  - Would anyone in this room deny that most 1889 properties are now higher quality than in 1889??
  - All 1889 properties which are not higher quality have been torn down

### UC confuses real income and real wealth

- Go back to BEA schizophrenia, I rent my house from myself
  - Me as owner makes capital gains, I become wealthier
    Do I pass all these on to myself as renter?
- No! Why not. Because the rent charged by the owner-occupier at the margin depends on the rent charged in the open market for similar houses
- The owner side of the schizophrenic can pocket the capital gains without passing them on to his renter half if competitive conditions warrant it.

## The Landlord Speaks

- Apartment rents are inherently inertialWhy?
  - Leases are typically for a year no rental change allowed, no allowance for changing energy costs
  - There is assymetric info at the beginning, we don't know who will be a good tenant. Once we find one, we want to keep them, so low rent increases for good tenants
  - The concept of "good tenant" is not part of the economics of housing

## Then What Happens?

- With bad tenants, you jump the rent, they leave, so it doesn't matter for price indexes
- Once they say they won't renew lease, you then look at the marketplace and decide on the competitive price.
- Sometimes we don't guess right, nobody calls, and we actually reduce the rent, this happened in August 2005

### The Light Touch on pre-1983 CPI

 The PPV paper confuses the issue, makes it sound like pre-1983 CPI was a UC index
 No

#### Multiple flaws

- Treated mortgage interest payments as a nominal interest rate rather than a real interest rate
- Calculated mortgage interest expense as if everyone had to get a 1-yr ARM rather than what they actually did, a 30-yr fixed rate.

The Incredible Effects of **CPI Housing Treatment pre-1983** PPV p. 19 display the effects AAGR ending 9/81 ■ Wrong: 11.0 for total CPI ■ Right: 9.2 for total CPI How many people lost their jobs as Paul Volcker reacted to this CPI treatment? Causation? CPI exaggerates inflation Volcker fights inflation by raising interest rates Everyone loses jobs, esp. the rust belt

## Interpretation of 0.3 per year Aging Bias

- How have the national accounts integrated aging bias and maintenance.
- Let's imagine that a typical unit declines in value by 0.6% per year with no maintenance
- But maintenance occurs at a rate of +0.3
- CPI comes along and estimates -0.3 aging effect. Maintenance is behind the scenes.
- We need integrated maintenance accounts

## Big Issue: Incongruity between Apt rent and house rent

What would my house rent for, a basic question that the CPI must answer
 Problems

- Every rental of a house in most parts of the U.
   S. is an anomaly
- Someone is on leave, someone is visiting
- People move, they are in temporary digs

My current tenant

### Owner Sample vs,. Rental sample

- Nobody rents in mainly O-O areas except for bizarre reasons that leaves these price observations suspect, sample selection bias
- But this punts on the basic issue, is the *rate of change of rents* any different?
  Does all this discussion of sampling from the O-O population really matter?

## Methodology: A New Issue

- What to do about utilities subtracted from rent
- Let energy prices accelerate, net rental indexes decline
- Superficially seems like a big problem
- But in a cosmic sense, let energy prices be allocated in an accounting scheme
  - Rent goes down, make sure something else goes up pari passu
- A problem for the CPI, but not in principle for the BEA

## Part 3 on Sampling

#### These maps of STL

Where is the evidence in this paper that there is any reason to care about sampling?

Where are the tables of rents by city?

- P. 29 why do we care about sampling until we are told that there are different %price △s across types or cities
- We know house price inflation is different across cities, but where is the evidence on rents?

## Finally, about GvG

- That paper is about a century of house price changes
- It says there is relatively little difference between the AHS sample and the CPI for 1997-2003
- That doesn't mean you can disregard everything it says about 1914-1995
   You fail to link its conclusions to your methological discussion of 1967-1983